

With, <i>enaha</i> .	Work, <i>to, ta</i> .
Wizard, <i>lan</i> .	Year, <i>gni</i> .
Woman, <i>mui, cha-mui</i> .	Yes, <i>xa, jna, ma</i> (<i>iba</i> = it is).
Word, <i>ju; ena ju</i> , "one word"	

On the Mazatec Language of Mexico and its Affinities.

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In the northeastern corner of the State of Oaxaca lies a mountainous tract, watered by numerous streams, known from earliest times by its Aztec name *Teutilan*, the Divine Land, or The Land of the Gods, and officially now as the district Teutilan del Camino. It has about 26,000 inhabitants, a large proportion of whom are of native blood. These speak three radically different languages—the Cuicatec, which is probably a dialect of the Zapotecan stock; the Chinantec, which stands alone, and the Mazatec, of which nothing whatever has been known, and which it is my aim to examine and, if possible, classify in the present study.

The material I have for the purpose is an unpublished vocabulary, collected by a Danish officer, who was in the service of Maximilian, and which has been obligingly furnished me by Mr. Alphonse Pinart, whose extensive researches in American linguistics are well known. The only published materials in existence are two translations of the Lord's Prayer into different dialects of the tongue. These have been reprinted by Pimentel, Bancroft and other writers. Their precise provenance is unknown; as for the vocabulary, it was obtained at Huantla, northeast of the town of Teutilan.

Names.—The name Mazatecatl—plural, Mazateca—means "Deer People" in the Aztec or Nahuatl language. It may have been given them by their Nahuatl neighbors on account of their land abounding in deer; or, as some say, because they worshiped the figure of a deer—that is, had a deer totem among them. There were other Mazatecas living in the present State of Tabasco, and yet others in the State of Guerrero; but we have no reason to suppose that those "Deer Peoples" were at all related to these in Teutilan. What they called themselves, if they had a collective tribal name, we do not know.

Nor is it certain why their country was referred to by the Aztecs as "The Land of the Gods." It seems likely that it was on account of the numerous temples that existed there, and the unusually devotional character of the natives. The remains of these ancient religious structures and of the artificial mounds which supported them still bear witness to this, and two of their villages yet bear the names San Antonio de los Cues and San Juan de los Cues, the term *cues* (a Haytian word) being applied by the Spaniards to artificial mounds. The former is situated in the valley of the Rio Salado; the latter in an adjacent valley. Unfortunately, no archæological exploration of them has been reported.*

Their religious character is also referred to by the early Spanish writers. Sahagun describes them as performing remarkable tricks at certain festivals, such as swallowing live snakes and frogs.† Mendieta speaks of their rigid fasts and abstinence from marital relations for fifteen days after the nuptials. The historian Herrera gives the following description of some of their rites:

"In the Province of Teutitlan, where the Mazatec language is spoken, which adjoined that of the Mistecs, they were accustomed to flay the sacrificial victims, and carried the skins to the neighboring villages, asking alms. On the day of a certain important festival, which took place annually, the priests ascended the temple and struck a war drum. At this signal all the Indians who were in the fields had to run to their houses and their town. Then those who had carried the skins of the victims sallied forth and ran about the country till midday, and whenever they caught a person they cut his hair so as to form a sort of crown around his head, and such persons were destined to be sacrificed within one year." ‡

According to Aztec mythology—which is very rarely to be regarded as historical—the natives of Teutitlan were descended from Xelhua, the oldest of the six sons of Iztac Mixcohuatl and his wife, Ilancuey, the venerable pair who dwelt in and ruled the mysterious northern Land of the Seven Caves, called in Nahuatl Chicomoztoc.§

* Another Teotitlan—"Teotitlan del Valle"—is found in Oaxaca. It was so called from the temple of a famous divinity, which was erected on the summit of a high rock near by. This was the goal of numerous pilgrims, and, according to Señor J. B. Carrasco, "fué uno de los santuarios de mas estima y de mas nombre en la gentilidad." *Estudios Históricos del Estado Oaxaqueño*. Tom. I, pp. 15, 16.

† *Historia de Nueva España*. Lib. II, Apéndice.

‡ *Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Dec. III, Lib. III, cap. 15.

§ Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, Lib. II, cap. 33.

This Xelhua was a mighty man—one of the “Giants,”—and was surnamed the Builder, for he it was who constructed the famous Pyramid of Cholula. He is also referred to as chief of the Olmeca, an unknown, ancient people.

We need attach little importance to these old stories, and will find it more profitable to turn to the language of the Mazatecas to discover their affiliations.

In investigating its possible analogies with other idioms, I have been somewhat surprised at the relationships which it certainly discloses. These are not with the Zapotec-Mixtec stock, as I have (erroneously) stated in my work, *The American Race*,* but with two quite remote and independent stocks.

The one of these is the Chapanec, which was spoken in the present State of Chiapas, and also at the time of the conquest by many thousand natives, who occupied the shores of Lake Managua and Fonseca Bay, in Nicaragua, where they were known as Mangués and Orotinans. The dialects of this stock are closely akin to each other.

The second list of affinities point to a still more remote and unexpected relationship. The Mangués had as neighbors beyond the Cordilleras, in Costa Rica, a group of related tribes—the Talamancas, Borucas, Bribris, Vizeitas, etc., whom I shall call, collectively, “Costa Rican.” These have been satisfactorily shown by Dr. Max Uhle, Dr. A. Ernst and other students to be not distantly connected with the important Chibcha stem of New Granada, which, at the conquest, was widely extended over that Province, and is the only linguistic stock of South America whose presence in North America has been proved.†

After presenting the vocabulary furnished me by Mr. Pinart and the texts offered by Pimentel I shall pursue the comparisons of the stock of terms thus supplied.

ENGLISH-MAZATECAN VOCABULARY.

Arm, <i>chale</i> .	Black, <i>tuna</i> .
Bad, <i>minda</i> .	Blue, <i>iso</i> .
Banana, <i>nacha'</i> .	Boy, <i>indidi</i> (see “Son”).
Beans, <i>nahma'</i> .	Bread, <i>chu hi</i> .
Beard, <i>tza' á</i> .	Breast (chest), <i>animale</i> .

* *The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America*, p. 142 (New York, 1891).

† See *The American Race*, pp. 184-186.

Brown, *schene'*.
 Cactus, *nan' da*.
 Cat, a, *chito*.
 Chief, *chicunai*.
 Church, *inai*.
 Clothing, *nikye*.
 Clouds, *ifi*.
 Cow, *ngchaha'*.
 Daughter, *tzadi* (see "Girl").
 Day, *gunichi*.
 Dead, *coviu*.
 Die, to, *cuiyane*.
 Dog, *nanya*.
 Door, *chutoa*.
 Ear, *schical*.
 Earth, *nangi*.
 Egg, *cho'*.
 Evening, *gischo*.
 Eye, *schca*.
 Eyebrows, *tza irpan* (?).
 Father, *tata*.
 Finger, *noon-tza* (see "Hand").
 Fire, *ni*.
 Foot, *tzóco*.
 Forehead, *ten*.
 Girl, *tzadi*.
 God, *naina'*.
 Gold, *naletó*.
 Good, *dani*.
 Green, *tzare'*.
 Hall, *tzinayo*.
 Hair, *coshe'*.
 Hand, *tza*.
 Hat, *tzingye*.
 Head, *tku*.
 Heaven, *gami*.
 Here, *ihndi*.
 Hill, *nindo*.
 Iron, *quicha*.
 Large, *tzea*.
 Leaf, *schcatiya* (= ear-tree).
 Light, *usc'*.
 Lightning, *kuata*.
 Lungs, *nyesi*.
 Malze, *name'*.
 Man, *chii*.

Meat, *yoje*.
 Money, *to*.
 Moon, *sa*.
 Morning, *tanhya*.
 Mouth, *tzoa*.
 Night, *nhyu*.
 Nose, *nitú*.
 Onion, *tutzo*.
 Palm, *schahe'*.
 Paper, *schuhu'*.
 Plantain, *nacha'*.
 Plaza, *titzi*.
 Pretty, *da*.
 Rain, *tzi*.
 Red, *ini*.
 River, *dahoe*.
 Road, *diya*.
 Sea, *dachicu*.
 Sheep, *chitzanga*.
 Sierra, *gihya*.
 Silver, *tonschua*.
 Small, *tua*.
 Snow, *dundyá*.
 Son, *indi* (see "Boy").
 Star, *ningutzea*.
 Stone, *noyo*.
 Summit, the, *garonindo*.
 Sun, *sui*.
 Teeth, *niyyu*.
 There, *hani*.
 Thigh, *chamila*.
 Toe, *noontzoco* (see "Foot").
 Tree, *iya*.
 Tobacco, *nahnu*.
 To-day, *gandai*.
 Tomato, *chiti*.
 Town, *naschananda*.
 Turkey buzzard, *nikye*.
 Ugly, *chíu*.
 Water, *nanda*.
 White, *chukua*.
 Wind, *to*.
 Woman, *chu*.
 Year, *guno*.
 Yellow, *sine*.
 Yesterday, *gohia*.

The personal pronouns are :

I, <i>gāa'</i> .	We, <i>gahi</i> .
Thou, <i>gahye'</i> .	You, <i>gahini</i> .
He, <i>he</i> .	They, <i>niakne'</i> .

Of the possessives I find the following :

Mine, <i>na</i> .	His, <i>le'</i> .
Thine, <i>li</i> .	Our, <i>nahan</i> .

The numerals are given thus :

1	<i>go'</i> .	8	<i>hi</i> .
2	<i>ho'</i> .	9	<i>nyaha'</i> .
3	<i>ha'</i> .	10	<i>te</i> .
4	<i>nihu'</i> .	11	<i>tengo</i> .
5	<i>ũ</i> .	15	<i>chu</i> .
6	<i>hũ'</i> .	20	<i>cung</i> .
7	<i>yato'</i> .	30	<i>kate</i> .

There are two versions of the Lord's Prayer given in Pimentel's *Cuadro Descriptivo de las Lenguas de Mexico*. They evidently have been made by different persons, and represent different dialects of the tongue, and apparently neither is in that of Huantla, where the vocabulary was obtained. Both, however, are clearly Mazatec, and the differences disappear considerably on analysis.

They are as follows :

A.

"Nadmīna naina ga tecni gahami; sandumi ili gatirrubanajin nanguili; cuaha catama janimali, jacunit dic nangui cunit gahami; niño rrajinna tey quitaha najin: qntedchatahanajin gadchidtonajin jacunitgajin nedchata alejin chidtaga tedtunajin: guquimittacuntuajin, tued tinajin cuacha catama."

B.

"Tata nahan, xi nacá nihaseno: chacua catoma ñiere: catichová rico manimajin: catoma cuazuare, donjara batoó cornangui, bateco nihasen: niotisla najin ri ganeihinixtin, tiuto najin dehi: ni canuhi ri guitenajin donjara batoó, juirin ni canojin ri quiteisajin: quini- quenahi najin ri danjin quisanda nongo niqueste Meé."

Referring to the first as A and the second as B we may make the following comparisons with words in the Vocabulary :

	A.	B.	VOCAB.
Our,	<i>naina,</i>	<i>nahan,</i>	<i>nahan.</i>
Father,	<i>nadmina,</i>	<i>tata,</i>	<i>namí</i> ("cura").
Thou,	<i>ga,</i>	<i>nacá,</i>	<i>gahyé.</i>
Heaven,	<i>gahami,</i>	<i>nihaseno,</i>	<i>gamí.</i>
Earth,	<i>nanguí,</i>	<i>nanguí,</i>	<i>nangí.</i>
Kingdom (thy),	<i>janima-lí,</i>	<i>manima-jín.</i>	
Give (thou),	<i>niño,</i>	<i>nio-tisla.</i>	
To-day,		<i>ganeí,</i>	<i>gandai.</i>
Us (= to us, of us),	<i>najin,</i>	<i>najin.</i>	

Turning now to an investigation of the affinities of the Mazatecan, I present the following arrangement of a number of words, with their corresponding terms, in dialects either of the Chapanean or Chibchan stock. It is noteworthy that very rarely do we find any word which is at all alike in the three. The Mazatecan terms seem to have been derived from two sources radically dissimilar.

COMPARISON OF THE MAZATEC WITH THE CHAPANECAN AND CHIBCHAN STOCKS.

	MAZATEC.	CHAPANECAN.	CHIBCHAN.	
			COŒTA RICAN.	NEW GRANADIAN.
Arm,	<i>chale,</i>	<i>goloa, ghulua.</i>		
Banana,	<i>nacha,</i>	<i>noko-tona.</i>		
Black,	<i>tuna,</i>		<i>turinat,</i>	<i>funza.</i>
Blue,	<i>iso,</i>		<i>dsähe, siona.</i>	
Breast,	<i>animale,</i>		<i>aniermi, V.</i>	
Cat,	<i>chito,</i>	<i>tritu.</i>		
Chief,	<i>chicunu,</i>			<i>chiquy</i> (priest).
Dead,	<i>coviu,</i>	<i>coijme.</i>		
Die, to,	<i>cui-yane,</i>	<i>hui.</i>		
Dog,	<i>nanya,</i>	<i>nombi.</i>		
Ear,	<i>schical,</i>		<i>sekuke, ikuaga,</i>	<i>quhyca.</i>
Eye,	<i>schou,</i>		<i>ocua, s'ócco,</i>	<i>urcuca.</i>
Fire,	<i>ní,</i>	<i>nio.</i>		
Flesh,	<i>yofe,</i>	<i>nbohóu.</i>		
Foot,	<i>tzoco,</i>		<i>tsuku-nukuc, V.</i>	
Good,	<i>dani,</i>	<i>pami, game.</i>		
Hair,	<i>coshé,</i>		<i>schá,</i>	<i>quyhé.</i>

	CHIBCHAN.			
	MAZATEC.	CHAPANECAN.	COSTA RICAN.	NEW GRANADIAN.
Hand,	<i>tza,</i>			<i>yta.</i>
Head,	<i>tku,</i>	<i>θokua.</i>		
Here,	<i>ihndi,</i>	<i>jande.</i>		
Hill,	<i>nindo,</i>	<i>ndili.</i>		
Hilltop,	<i>garomindo,</i>	<i>namando.</i>		
Lightning,	<i>kuata,</i>	<i>koita-pumene.</i> (thunder)		
Maize,	<i>nama,</i>	<i>name.</i>		
Man,	<i>chii,</i>		<i>hechiche.</i>	
Money,	<i>to,</i>	<i>tu-mi.</i>		
Moon,	<i>sa,</i>		<i>só, sie,</i>	<i>za (night).</i>
Mouth,	<i>tzoa,</i>	<i>duñi.</i>		
Mountain,	<i>gihya,</i>	<i>gua.</i>		
Night,	<i>nhyu,</i>	<i>nyufui.</i>		
Nose,	<i>nitu,</i>	<i>nyungu.</i>		
Rain,	<i>tzi,</i>			<i>siu.</i>
Red,	<i>ini,</i>		<i>bets-ena, serir-ine.</i>	
River,	<i>dahoe,</i>	<i>nāju.</i>		
Road,	<i>diya,</i>	<i>nila.</i>		
Sea,	<i>dachicu,</i>		<i>deche, dechequ-in.</i>	
Small,	<i>tua,</i>		<i>txoua-pa, T.</i>	
Star,	<i>ningutzea,</i>	<i>najuiti.</i>		
Stone,	<i>noyo,</i>	<i>nyugu, noca.</i>		
Sun,	<i>sui,</i>		<i>chui,</i>	<i>sua.</i>
Teeth,	<i>niiyu,</i>	<i>niji.</i>		
There,	<i>hani,</i>	<i>ti-ha.</i>		
Tree,	<i>iya,</i>	<i>nya.</i>		
Turkey buzzard,	<i>nikye,</i>	<i>nekatu.</i>		
Water, (stream)	<i>nanda,</i>	<i>nanda.</i>		
White,	<i>chuhua,</i>		<i>suruna, suat.</i>	
Wind,	<i>to,</i>	<i>tihó.</i>		
Woman,	<i>chu,</i>		<i>soora,</i>	<i>sue, güi.</i>
Yellow,	<i>sine,</i>		<i>psi, shoin-ore.</i>	
I,	<i>güá,</i>	<i>saho.</i>		
My,	<i>na,</i>	<i>nba.</i>		
One,	<i>gó,</i>	<i>ti-ghé, ticaó.</i>		
Two,	<i>hó,</i>	<i>haó.</i>		
Three,	<i>há,</i>	<i>havi.</i>		

I think that the above comparison will leave no doubt but that the Mazatec is affiliated with both these stocks. With regard to

the Chapanecan, no other supposition will explain the substantial identity of the words for :

Fire,	<i>ni</i>	and	<i>nio</i> .
Water,	<i>nanda</i>	and	<i>nanda</i> (stream).
Maize,	<i>nama</i>	and	<i>name</i> .
Tree,	<i>iya</i>	and	<i>nya</i> .
Lightning,	<i>kuata</i>	and	<i>koita</i> .
Night,	<i>nhyu</i>	and	<i>nyu-fui</i> .
Teeth,	<i>niyu</i>	and	<i>niji</i> .
Stone,	<i>noyo</i>	and	<i>nyugu</i> .
Cat,	<i>chito</i>	and	<i>txitu</i> .
Here,	<i>ihndi</i>	and	<i>jande</i> .
One,	<i>gó</i>	and	<i>ticaó</i> .
Two,	<i>hó</i>	and	<i>hãó</i> .
Three,	<i>há</i>	and	<i>háui</i> .

Not less positive are the identities of the following words of the Mazatecan and Chibchan (Costa Rican) groups :

Sun,	<i>sui</i>	with	<i>chui</i> or <i>sua</i> .
Moon,	<i>sa</i>	with	<i>só</i> , <i>sie</i> (or <i>za</i>).
Ear,	<i>schical</i>	with	<i>quhyca</i> , <i>sehuke</i> .
Eye,	<i>schcu</i>	with	<i>s'ócco</i> , <i>ócuca</i> .
Hair,	<i>coshé</i>	with	<i>schá</i> , <i>quyhé</i> .
Man,	<i>chi</i>	with	<i>he-chi-che</i> .
Woman,	<i>chu</i>	with	<i>suc</i> , <i>güi</i> .
Rain,	<i>tzi</i>	with	<i>siu</i> .
Sea,	<i>dachicu</i>	with	<i>dechegu-in</i> .
Foot,	<i>tzoco</i>	with	<i>tsuku</i> .

The words for the colors white, black, blue, yellow and red show rather remote, but, perhaps, actual resemblances. They have no analogy whatever with the Chapanecan color terms.

The ethnographic conclusion to which this comparison would lead is that the Mazatecas do not constitute an independent stock, but a branch of the Chapanec group, which was at some early date of its history largely infiltrated with blood of the Costa Rican tribes of South American descent. This may have arisen from the adoption of some large band, which had migrated across the mountains separating Costa Rica from Nicaragua. The Mangue branch of the Chapanecs lived in Nicaragua, in immediate proximity to these mountains, and must have been in frequent relations with the tribes beyond them.

But how explain the extensive journey from Nicaragua to the northern limits of the State of Oaxaca? Here an ancient tradition of the Mangues comes to our aid. It was preserved by Father Remesal in his *History of Chiapas*, and runs to the effect that at a remote time a considerable number of the Mangues departed from the shores of Lake Managua and journeyed to the north, into the territory of the Zoques. Remesal construed this to explain the origin of the Chapanecs of Chiapas; but the traditions of the latter do not acknowledge this derivation, and it is probable that the Mangues referred to some other division of their community. This may well have been that which conveyed a mixed dialect of Mangué and Costa Rican as far as the northern borders of Oaxaca.

We have also early evidence that a band of the Mangues, numbering about four hundred souls, occupied a town in the midst of the Costa Rican tribes, in the valley of Guaymi, fronting on the Golfo Dolce. There they were found by the Spanish explorers in 1563.* Doubtless they absorbed more or less of the language of their rulers, the Guaymis; and the following identities between the Mazatecan and the Guaymi vocabularies (published by Mr. Pinart in the *Revue d' Ethnographie*, 1887) seem conclusive.

	MAZATECAN.	GUAYMI.
Sun,	<i>sui</i> ,	<i>shui</i> .
Moon,	<i>sa</i> ,	<i>so</i> .
Head,	<i>tku</i> ,	<i>ookua</i> .
Nose,	<i>nito</i> ,	<i>nido-ñ</i> .

If these identifications are correct, they enable us to trace the influence of a South American linguistic stock as far into North America as the northern border of Oaxaca—a discovery full of significance for the history of the aboriginal culture of the central portion of the continent.

* Peralta, *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el Siglo XVI*, p. 777 (Madrid, 1883).